THE New Republic

Religious Issues In Politics

Gerald W. Johnson

Page 10

Berlin—The First Bite

An Editorial

The Reaction in West Germany

By Terence Prittie

Unfinished Business . . . . *Richard L. Neuberger*

The Non-Conforming Self . . . . . *T. J. Ross*

DETECTING ATOMIC TESTS

Who Is Telling the Truth?

A review of Dr. Bethe's testimony by Helen Fuller

MARCH 9, 1959

25 cents

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Washington Wire

To the Summit

THE KHRUSHCHEV challenge for a one-two conference on Berlin—first of Foreign Ministers, then of heads of Government—puts the United States on a spot. We have a sick Dulles and a weak Eisenhower: Who will represent us? Prime Minister Macmillan strongly backs a Summit meeting. One shudders to think of Eisenhower left naked with Khrushchev. Obviously we must make a counter-offer. But can Secretary Dulles negotiate from his hospital bed and under these grim conditions? Moscow has offered us a stacked deck. She proposes a Ministers' Conference which might turn into a game of make-believe because she knows she would get a Summit meeting in any case.

Mr. K's advantage is this: He has overwhelming limited-war force around Berlin while we are only adapted to fighting nuclear war there; responsibility, therefore, rests on us if it becomes a nuclear war. Second, if Moscow turns authority over to East Germany it will seem silly, at first, for the West to force a showdown just over a change of ticket-takers; yet if we accede it sets a precedent for a new power alignment. (If blockade occurs we shall take our protest immediately to the UN; try to get moral sanction there.)

Mr. K may have roughed up Macmillan trying to help the British Labour Party in the forthcoming election. In an official statement Labour pledges itself, if elected (following Aneuran Bevan-*New Statesman* line), "to suspend British nuclear tests at once, whatever other powers may decide" and to stop "all patrol flights with nuclear weapons . . . immediately"; further, that these two steps will be "only a beginning." The chance of winning such policies in Britain amounts to big stakes for Mr. K.

Incidentally, note these ages: Eisenhower, 68; Dulles, 71; De Gaulle, 68; Macmillan, 65; Adenauer, 83; Chiang Kai-shek, 73; Syngman Rhee, 83. Average—73. A spring rain or two will sweep half these men out of office. ("Gerontocracy" — government by old men.)

Octogenarian Syngman Rhee is master of his own house: the Korean Supreme Court has just sentenced to death Cho Bong Am, the man who twice unsuccessfully ran against Rhee for the presidency. Shortly after Cho's arrest his Progressive Party was outlawed. If Rhee were a Communist and not our ally, this might upset us.

Johnson's Leadership

OUR HUNCH is that the liberal revolt against Lyndon Johnson is just starting. The press loves to build a man up, then tear him down. Johnson is presently the darling of the conservatives; he is their one-man road-block against the election victory last November. In a single article last Sunday *New York Times* pundit Arthur Krock hails Johnson as "brilliant" with "extraordinary talent," "extraordinary alertness" and "uncanny ability."

What Mr. Krock fails to mention is that Johnson also tends to be a bully, is often boorish, and comes as close to being a Senate boss as that chamber has had in this century.

Republican Senators hold caucuses; Democrats don't. (They have held only two in two years). Why? Probably because, as Sen. Mike Monroney (D, Okla.) put it, Democrats "usually come out of caucuses more divided than when they went in." In other words, the irreconcilable Right-Left cleavage is exposed.

Sen. Johnson operates by obscuring this cleavage and by exploiting the November liberal victory to strengthen the Right. He calls the Democrats into conference once a year, delivers his "State of the Union" speech, and dismisses them. Debate might disrupt things.

Johnson operates through the 9-man Democratic Policy Committee and the 15-man Steering Committee. Aside from three ex-officio duplicates, there are 21 men on these committees, with Johnson chairman of each. Their geographical base is so narrow as to be laughable. No large industrial state is represented. Of the largest states in America only Texas is represented. The South has 9 of the 21 Senators; border and mountain states have 7; the East is represented only by Rhode Island (2) and Delaware. Aside from the presence of Hubert Humphrey and Tom Hennings, you would never guess that the emerging forces that gave the Democrats 24 million votes last November existed.

This is a highly unstable situation and some pleasantly unawed individualist like William Proxmire (D, Wis.) was bound to come along and point it out. Senators are prima donnas; they are not easily led by the nose. It is amusing to think what men like Borah, LaFollette and Norris would have done to Johnson's bustling one-man supervision. Part of Senator Johnson's "brilliant" and "uncanny" leadership comes from the absence of competition, whether from the Senate itself or from the White House.

Notes

A GOOD MANY Protestants, including my friend Gerald W. Johnson in this magazine, hope there is no "Catholic issue" in American political thinking. They were glad when Sen. John Kennedy (D, Mass.) made his strong statement in *Look* Magazine for complete separation of church and state including the declaration that federal support of private or parochial schools is unconstitutional. However, examination of diocesan newspapers (outside of Kennedy's own sympathetic bailiwick) shows a good many dissenters. This does not affect the forceful position of Kennedy but it does offer a disturbing hint that some spokesmen of the Church want favored treatment, and would ask for it if they had the power.

If the give-away tax loophole that allows the privileged oil and gas industry a 27.5 percent "depletion allowance" were reduced to merely 15 percent, it would bring the Treasury $300 million additional taxes a year. The plan got 31 votes to 58 against in the Senate last year. Now it will soon come up again. And who will advance it? Why, Senator Proxmire. And who will fight it tooth and nail? Why Senator Johnson, to be sure.

T.R.B.

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The New Republic
A JOURNAL OF OPINION

VOL. 140, NO. 10, ISSUE 2312
MARCH 9, 1959

THE WEEK 3

Berlin: The First Bite; The Reaction in West Germany; Flare-up in Africa: The Bar Association; Corn and Carnations; Competitive TVA; Literacy—Louisiana Style; Content vs. Adjustment

ARTICLES 10

The Superficial Aspect
by Gerald W. Johnson
Detecting Atomic Tests
by Helen Fuller
Unfinished Business Outdoors
by Richard L. Neuberger

BOOKS 17

THEATRE 22

MOVIES 22

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Published weekly (except for omissions of four summer issues) and distributed by The New Republic, 1244 - 19th St., N.W., Washington 6, D. C. Phone: REpublic 7-8656. Entered as second-class matter September 26, 1950, at the post office at Washington, D. C., under the Act of March 3, 1879. Single copy, 25¢. Yearly subscription, $8.00; Foreign, $9.00, Armed Forces personnel or students, $5.00. Subscribers desiring change of address should notify us at least three weeks in advance. Please include both old and new addresses. Copyright 1959, by Harrison-Blaine, Inc.

Correspondence

► *Who Said What?*

SIRS:

IN Janet Winn's account (*NR*, February 9) of my appearance on Susskind's TV show "Open End" with Dorothy Parker and Truman Capote, Miss Winn made the mistake of saying that I said Mr. Capote was a more ex-

(Continued on page 23)

Berlin: The First Bite

IF A WAR is set off by the Kremlin's moves to change the status of Berlin it will be because the Kremlin has repeated a miscalculation that is not without historic precedents. The conditions for such a miscalculation exist at Moscow today in a failure to understand the behavior of liberal democracies, together with a dogmatic habit of mind that reinforces the failure.

Until recently the Kremlin appears to have been haunted by a fear that the United States would deliberately start a war while it still had a notable military advantage. Anyone who understands the range of possible behavior by a democracy like ours knows how little ground there was for this fear. But the Kremlin was bound to lack that understanding so long as it looked more to the dogmas of its ideology than to the facts.

What the Kremlin now appears to believe is that the danger of a Western resort to war has passed with the passing of the West's military advantage. In this new view, the Western "ruling groups," calculating the new military balance, must have concluded that such a resort is no longer open to them. It follows that the Soviet Union can now do with relative impunity what it could not do without excessive risk in 1948, in 1950, or even in 1956. This seems to us the most plausible explanation of Khrushchev's recent brashness.

One assumption on which such a belief must depend is that the behavior of the Western democracies is a function of calculated long-range decisions made by a small ruling clique in the inner sanctums of some Western Kremlin. Such an assumption not only conforms to Soviet dogma, it also represents the tendency of every nation to judge others by itself.

The Kremlin has taken note, we may be sure, of statements by intellectual and political leaders in the West (generally unexceptionable in themselves) emphasizing the necessity of avoiding war in the present situation. It might conclude from these statements that the peoples of the West are being prepared for the possible necessity of a general accommodation to the policies of the Soviet Union, an accommodation that would be largely unilateral and to the West's disadvantage.

Though we suppose that the policy of the Kremlin continues to represent a traditional cautiousness, its new estimate of Western policy must increase the scope for action that it deems cautious. While it may still plan to eat the cherry in three bites, pausing after each to assess the consequences before going on to the next, prudence no longer forbids taking any bites at all.

The classic fault in this kind of calculation is in the assumption that it accurately describes the basis on which the behavior of the democratic societies is determined. If the calculations of the West were against war in 1936, when a relatively weak Hitler invaded the Rhineland, how much more must they be against war in 1939, when a relatively strong Hitler is about to invade Poland! Again—is it not evident in 1950 that the

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Americans, having made their calculations, have concluded that Korea is not worth fighting for? But it does not follow that the Americans won't fight for Korea.

The Kremlin ought to read De Tocqueville on the nature of democratic societies; and then it ought to look at the record. What the record would show is that the very people who, before the practical test, call for peace at any price are those who, when the test comes, call for defense at any price. The young men in England and America who in 1935 took the Oxford pledge never to fight for their country (thereby misleading Berlin and Rome) went to war quite readily when the time came.

The Kremlin has chosen Berlin, the point of the West's greatest strategic weakness, as the point at which to create a crisis. But Berlin is also the point at which the West is most sensitive, and at which it is therefore most liable to that reflex action which sometimes takes its opponents by surprise.

All one can ask of the Soviet leaders now, and in no unfriendly spirit, is that they open their minds to the facts which the historic record reveals. If they do, they will see that the scope for safe action is not as great as they think. They may then approach whatever top-level conferences are held in a sober spirit of earnest searching for possible agreements.

As for ourselves: we ought to read the record too, taking account of the price which we have repeatedly paid for being firm too late. The first bite of the Berlin cherry is the test of our will. Whether there will be second and third bites, with all the attendant dangers, depends on what the test shows. In this kind of situation the promptings of a panic fear are likely to increase the danger rather than diminish it. The fact that the snarling dog's teeth are so terrible is precisely the reason for standing firm. Running away is what will most surely bring those teeth into play.

A journal such as *The New Republic* which has often disagreed with our present leaders may say with the better grace that, on the maintenance of West Berlin's freedom, we ought now to support them in a policy of quiet firmness backed by preparations for limited military operations that will not be lost on the Kremlin. We ought to support them in a firm stand (which is not the same as a policy of strong words); and then encourage them, upon the foundations of such a stand, to be reasonably flexible in seeking with our Russian antagonists a mutual accommodation in Europe that, by promoting peace and stability, would keep open the vistas of hope for both sides.

Our position in Berlin resembles our position on Quemoy in that it is strategically weak. But it differs in being morally strong. Here—as is not the case on Quemoy—our government, in taking a firm stand that does not exclude a willingness to negotiate, may reasonably expect the support of the American people and of our allies, as well as the sympathetic approval of the uncommitted nations.

The Reaction in West Germany

Bonn

WESTERN GERMANY, at this moment, is rather like a punch-drunk fighter who has been too long in the ring at a stretch. The battle is about the future of Germany; and this particular round has been going on since the Soviet Union formulated its threat to Berlin last November. The East German adversary (for this, increasingly, is the way that West Germans are regarding the affair) has been striking plenty of ferocious and confusing attitudes. But the real enemy is the Soviet referee; and he has never been still for a moment.

The West German Government, and the West Germans, were perfectly ready to sound a note of decent defiance to the Soviet ultimatum over Berlin. There is no sign at the moment of any West German retreat from the position taken up in November, which amounted—in broad terms—to a straight refusal to have the Western part of the city neutralized and stripped of its Western garrisons, and thus laid open to the danger of Communist infiltration and pressure. Nine Germans out of 10 support the line which has been taken by both the Federal Government and the Social Democratic Opposition—that there can be no capitulation over Berlin and no question of giving its 2.5 million inhabitants a vulnerable, even desperately dangerous status before Berlin takes its proper position once more as capital of a united Germany.

It has been the wish of the Western powers—with whom Dr. Adenauer and his Federal Government have gone along somewhat unwillingly—that the Berlin issue should be linked with the German problem as a whole. This, it was felt, would enable a localized threat to be submerged by Summit talks which would range over the whole field of Western and Soviet differences in Europe. Dr. Adenauer's first reaction was that the West should do no more than confront the Soviet Union with its uncompromising rejection of the latter's Berlin "plan." He was talked out of this before John Foster Dulles came to Bonn, full of an honest desire to discover "new" ideas by picking the brains of the people who were—in more senses than one—on the spot. It must be said that

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the Dulles visit was badly over-publicized. Various forewarnings of its principal purpose were supplied after a sudden spate of visits to Adenauer's offices in Bonn of the American Ambassador, Mr. David Bruce. Long before the dedicated but definitely ailing Mr. Dulles landed at Cologne airport it had become clear that he would press Chancellor Adenauer for both new ideas and—in the catch-phrase raked up for the occasion—more "flexibility" over the German problem. There is not the slightest sign that Mr. Dulles made any real impression on Dr. Adenauer. Instead he returned to Washington with the Chancellor's own phrase—"no concessions without counter-concessions"—ringing in his ears.

☆

This phrase was not new. With every word he spoke in the weeks before the Dulles visit, Dr. Adenauer made it clear that he believed that the Western powers had to abide rigidly to two rules before entering into top-level talks with the Soviet Union. These rules were: complete outward unity of purpose and program must be preserved, and no tricks must be given away in advance when dealing with as sly and astute a man as Khrushchev. Dr. Adenauer made other things clear, too. He rejected out of hand the Soviet plan for a German Confederation of two equally entitled states. He rejected any pre-emptive exclusion of a united Germany from NATO —not quite so unambiguously. He warned, again and again, that Russian policies remained both destructive and tough. Nothing that Khrushchev said was intended to help a genuine compromise over the German problem. It could serve only two possible ends—that of consolidating the East German Republic as an integral and extremely valuable part of the satellite bloc, or of using Eastern Germany as a spring-board for a further advance into Western Germany and Western Europe.

Dr. Adenauer's "rigidity" may be considered a certain factor in the treacherous months ahead. Outside observers here, however, may not be inclined to regard his attitude as all that rigid. In the last resort, it amounts to a steady determination to bring the Russians to the conference table, on the fair terms of an intelligible agenda, and to bargain with them there, with acumen. This presupposes that the subjects discussed will include German reunification, as well as a German peace-treaty, and over-all disarmament, as well as some thinning out of forces in some Central European Zone, which the Russians may feel will petrify the political *status quo*.

Dr. Adenauer has excellent nerves (he rather likes to tell others to look after their own). Other West German citizens are more sensitive to Russian diplomatic pressure which is used with the excruciating precision of a diamond drill. The threat to Berlin has been repeated times over. In order to emphasize it, the Russians halted an American military convoy on the vulnerable Berlin *Autobahn*, and held it for three days. The East German political parties and trade unions were instructed to offer olive branches to their opposite numbers in West Germany. Finally, Khrushchev treated the Moscow visit of British Prime Minister Harold Macmillan with a fine mixture of the comradely and the caustic. Dacha-ceremonial was preceded by Khrushchev's discouraging Tula speech, and for good measure another sharp warning of Soviet intentions was thrown in just as soon as Mr. Macmillan started on his Intourist peep at the provinces on February 24.

THE NEWSMAGAZINES

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Single copy—35 cents

10 copies —$3.00 25 copies —$6.00

THE NEW REPUBLIC

1244 19th St. N.W., Washington 6, D. C.

Two developments have emerged out of this diplomatic and propagandist welter. The first affects Herr Walter Ulbricht and his East German Republic. The prospect of a separate peace treaty with the Soviet Union is an immensely entertaining one. East German spokesmen were instructed to deny that it was in the cards until Khrushchev gave the word. Denials were therefore issued by such varied personalities as Otto Winzer, East German Deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs; Gerhard Eisler, chief of radio propaganda; and Wilhelm Meissner, administrative head of the East German Foreign Office. But Khrushchev gave the word to Ulbricht at the 21st Congress of the Soviet Communist Party last month in Moscow. The moment that he returned to East Berlin, Ulbricht executed the usual drill-movement—he aired the idea of a separate peace-treaty, then had it more firmly sponsored by the party newspaper, *Neues Deutschland*, finally confirmed its authenticity in person (February 20, in Leipzig).

☆

The idea of a separate peace treaty was supported by the sort of second-rate "get-together" campaign which is the best that the East Germans can muster. The Lord Mayor of Rostock was sent to Hamburg, in Western Germany, on a goodwill mission. At least he was received into the august precincts of the medieval Hanseatic Town Hall. The East German "Free" Trade Unions offered "cooperative assistance" to the West German Metal Workers Trade Union, which is worried by the dismissal of 5,000 steel workers since January 1 and the employment on short-time of 12,000 more. The offer was rudely rejected. Social Democratic Lord Mayors all over Western Germany received invitations to a "municipal congress" to be held in an East German city which still has not been specified. Their party has now told

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them to have nothing to do with this blatant piece of phony propaganda. It is not in the least surprising that these East German approaches have all been made to members of the official Opposition in the Federal Republic. It is significant that all of them have been repulsed.

Yet this show of solidarity is a trifle misleading. No West German party will have anything to do with the Russian plan for a German Confederation (I emphasize that this plan still has not won a single worthwhile supporter in Germany itself). Even the Free Democrats, who toyed with it, have now stated unequivocally that it is intended to perpetuate the political *status quo* and not to lead to reunification. The average German citizen is terrified of the idea. Not for him the undesirable prospect of the placid West German sheep penned with the lean and hungry East German jackal. But the threat of a separate peace treaty for Eastern Germany has driven many West Germans into believing that talks with the East German regime may, after all, be the lesser of two evils. Western Germany's leading daily newspaper, *Die Welt,* took this view on February 24. It did so partly because Western diplomats in Bonn are already talking in terms of the likelihood of East-West, all-German talks—sooner or later. And partly because of a display of unregeneracy by Khrushchev.

☆

Fifty million West Germans are, at this moment, thoroughly apprehensive over the main issues—which are Russian intransigence over the German problem as a whole, full Russian backing for East German sovereignty, and the local but nevertheless potentially violent Russian threat to Berlin. Macmillan's Moscow mission may have helped—a bit. But Dulles' lightning tour of allied capitals had an air of desperation about it. And Dr. Adenauer's lapse into stony silence—although admirable from the diplomatic point of view—is not reassuring to a public which is trying to think. As May 27, the date of expiry of the Russian ultimatum to Berlin, draws nearer there will be louder calls for help from Western Germany.

These cries for help will be the result of the deliberate twist of the Soviet thumb-screws. But they should not be taken as reflecting the deepest feelings of the big majority of the German electorate. These can be briefly summarized as follows: no panic surrender over Berlin; no head-in-the-noose political confederacy with a resolute, Kremlin-backed Eastern regime; no frittering away of German interests in order to stave off a showdown. With an actual majority behind his Christian Democratic Party (a one-party majority is a unique event in Germany), Mr. Adenauer has the real backing of a majority of the German people. In his self-imposed silence in the weeks ahead, this may be too easily forgotten.

TERENCE PRITTIE

Flare-up in Africa

THIS COUNTRY is more involved in the mounting human crisis in central Africa than in perhaps any other clash between nationalists and Europeans on the African continent. We are caught between the conflicting demands of the black Africa that is to come, and the non-black officialdom that still governs. In both the economic and diplomatic fields, US relations with the Federation comprising Rhodesia and Nyasaland remain confined to a white elite. There are important economic stakes. US capital has contributed heavily to the development of the Rhodesian copperbelt, and American interests control a majority of the stock in Rhodesian Selection Trust—one of the two principal corporate groups dominating the copper industry. More than $125 million in investments is involved, of which about 45 percent is in US Government loans to develop government-owned railways and electric power facilities and to guarantee loans for private firms developing the copperbelt.

The official explanation of the riots in Nyasaland in which several Negroes have been killed, puts the blame largely on the trouble-making of the physician-turned-firebrand, Hastings Banda. Dr. Banda, who was educated in the US and Britain and subsequently carried on a sedate and prosperous medical practice in London and Ghana for 30 years, quite probably lit the fuse. But the combustibles for a major explosion were present long before Banda's return from exile.

The discrepancy between the political and social "partnership" promised in 1953 by the Federation's white founders and the marginal reforms which have been grudgingly introduced in response to proddings from the Colonial Office in London amounts to a breach of faith. White settlers who conceived the Federation in 1953 were primarily motivated by visions of economic gains. By combining and developing the complementary economies of the self-governing British Colony of Southern Rhodesia (with its sizable European population, expanding industry, and developed agriculture), the British protectorate of Northern Rhodesia (with copper reserves conservatively estimated at 700 million tons), and the British Protectorate of Nyasaland with its 99.6 percent Negro population (offering a surplus labor force, potential for agricultural development and suspected mineral resources), the settlers hoped to reap the most profitable economic bonanza on the African continent. The British Government was reluctant to approve the Federation scheme. The seven million Africans in the area were deeply suspicious. What saved the day for the Federationists was a hazy, but convincing promise to make the Federation a showpiece of multi-racial government.

By providing foreign investors with a most favorable working environment and encumbering them with a

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minimum of red tape, the Federation has been phenomenally successful economically. But as prosperous year followed on prosperous year, there has been increasing reluctance to turn a share of the management to far less qualified Africans. Some of the more flagrant segregative practices have been curbed, a multi-racial university has been established, and there are more Africans in government. But there are no Africans in places that count, and federal leaders have never recognized the legitimacy of African political parties.

By early 1958, the most liberal white leader in the Federation—Prime Minister Garfield Todd of Southern Rhodesia—was ejected from his territorial premiership and from the governing United Federal Party for advocating some relatively modest racial legislation. The very term "partnership" seldom falls from the lips of an important government leader these days. The current strike of African laborers at the Kariba Dam is probably largely political; but the fact remains that the average African wage on the dam project is less than five cents an hour, whereas imported Italian workers receive European-scale salaries with many fringe benefits. The Southern Rhodesian territorial government, in a move apparently calculated to nip any Negro demands in the bud, has already taken "250 to 500" Africans into custody, introduced emergency rule, and banned all branches of the African National Congress.

The Bar Association

LIKE THE early intelligence of Mark Twain's death, newspaper stories of the American Bar Association's criticism of the Supreme Court are greatly exaggerated. The Association has a Committee on—no less!—COMMUNIST TACTICS, STRATEGY AND OBJECTIVES. It is headed by Peter Campbell Brown of New York, a former member of the Subversive Activities Control Board, and graced as well by Louis C. Wyman, the dragon-slaying Attorney General of New Hampshire. This Committee produced a sputtering, paranoiac report in the style and of the content rendered fashionable by the staff of the House Un-American Activities and Senate Internal Security Committees, to which, indeed, obeisance and attribution are duly and frequently made.

The report ranges over a great many matters, not excluding the fate of the Weimar Republic, Summit conferences, and nuclear tests. It quotes liberally from some of the more outrageous pronouncements of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Khrushchev and William Z. Foster. It early announces that "Soviet advances in seeking superiority in the control of space have doubtless been aided by the theft of secrets from American scientists in the same manner in which the Soviets gained the know-how to develop nuclear weapons." And it is quite unkind to the Supreme Court in connection with some of its "decisions related to Communism"—some of which aren't remotely related.

Had the American Bar Association adopted this improbable document at its convention last month, that would have been news, and hard to exaggerate. But nothing of the sort occurred. What the Bar Association's House of Delegates debated, amended and finally adopted was a set of recommendations to Congress with most of which we disagree, but which are an altogether different kettle of fish. The *New York Times* billed them as "Calling on Congress . . . to modify decisions of the Supreme Court dealing with internal security and Communism." Even that is an overwrought description.

The recommendations begin by declaring that the Supreme Court is the ultimate guardian of our freedom and that members of the Bar must defend it against unjust attacks, of which there have been some lately, as exemplified by omnibus proposals to limit the Court's jurisdiction; therefore, "while *members* of this Association view *some* (italics added) of the [recent] decisions to be unsound and incorrect," the Association condemns proposals such as last year's Jenner-Butler bill. More specifically, the Association recommends that Congress amend the Smith Act to cure the defects (as the Association deems them) revealed by the Court's reading of that Act in *Yates v. US;* extend to the states jurisdiction to enforce their own Little Smith Acts; and, in compliance with *Watkins v. US,* rewrite the charters of its investigating committees so as to define their authority "carefully and precisely," and make copies available to witnesses.

These are the principal ABA recommendations, and such we believe is a fair rendition of their tone and temper. We heartily agree with the first and last, and disagree as heartily with the rest. But the Court has been supported rather than attacked by this action, and one may regret that a contrary impression has got abroad. We are strongly confirmed in our view by an examination of what the Association declined to do. It declined to say that the Court has invoked "technicalities . . . against the protection of our nation," and it declined to imply (as by use of the phrase "restore to" in lieu of "amend" the Smith Act) that there is something fishy about the Court's recent work. A proposed recommendation in favor of Executive authority to deny passports on the basis of confidential information, though approved by a committee, was not put to a vote of the delegates. The same is true of recommendations to extend the loyalty-security program to non-sensitive government jobs. And, incidentally, the delegates named to the newly-created position of President-Elect the cautious but enlightened Whitney North Seymour, a member of the committee of the Association of the Bar of the City of New York which three years ago produced a commendably sane report on the loyalty and security programs.

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Corn and Carnations

THE RECORD speaks for itself. We refer to the *Congressional Record* of February 29. Senator Allott (R, Col.) is speaking:

> I propose as our national flower, a true flower. . . . I present it in the spirit of Webster, Clay and Calhoun, the spirit of amicable compromise. I offer for your consideration: the carnation. As a favorite of all nationalities and races, of people such as President McKinley . . . the carnation is particularly important as a symbol of our past, our present, and our future. Let us unite behind the carnation.

Mr. Keating (R, N.Y.) takes the floor to thank his colleague for "sending to me today a carnation to wear." But, "I invite his attention to the fact that fossils of the genus rosa, establishing the existence of the rose on this continent for more than 33 million years . . . were found in his own native state of Colorado."

Mr. Dirksen (R, Ill.) hopes that "the War of the Roses will not be resumed," and Mr. Hickenlooper (R, Iowa) is compelled to "importune my colleagues to think about the stability and utility of corn as represented by the corn tassel."

Mr. Morton (D, Ky.) interjects a warning that corn has various uses: "We do not want to get into a debate . . . that is going to stir up the Anti-Saloon League. . . . I shall introduce the proper resolution. It is that grass be our national flower."

Mr. Douglas (D, Ill.) comes in on cue:

> A large part of the prosperity of Kentucky has been built upon corn . . . corn put into a liquid form. It ill behooves the Senator from Kentucky to try and upgrade grass and downgrade corn.

Mr. Byrd (D, W.Va.) rings down the curtain:

> The people of this country every 365 days spend $10 for every minute which has passed since Jesus Christ was born. For what do they spend it? They spend it for . . . nothing less than "booze." I rise to the defense of those organizations which are striving to combat an evil which is . . . causing individuals to be sent to the electric chair.

Competitive TVA

HAVING BEEN CITED by the Republicans with contempt as creeping socialism, TVA is now likely to be cited by them for contempt as openly practicing capitalism in a highly political way. At the very time the White House and the Office of Civil Defense and Mobilization were making an honest man out of Republican Senator Hugh Scott by helping him fulfill his campaign promise to get a contract for generators for a Philadelphia firm (even though English Electric offered to supply the generators for $306,510 less in what appeared to be competitive bidding), TVA was also in the market for generators.

The competitive bids which TVA considered were for a half-million kilowatt generator for its Colbert installation near Tuscombia, Alabama. Three companies bid. Westinghouse offered to make it for $17,633,000, GE for $17,563,000, both subject to escalator clauses which if invoked might raise the cost by about $2 million. C. G. Parsons & Co., Ltd., of Newcastle on Tyne, submitted a bid, without escalator clauses, of $12,095,800.

Noting that acceptance of the low bid would reduce the cost of this project from an estimated $80 million to about $75 million, the TVA board gave the contract to Parsons.

Literacy—Louisiana Style

"YOU DON'T have to discriminate against Negroes to keep them off the registration rolls," Louisiana's State Senator William Rainach has now told parish registrars in Baton Rouge. For, "nature has already discriminated against them. The registration tests are based on intelligence, not education, and intelligence is something that is bred into people through long generations." Senator Rainach is chairman of the Legislature's "Joint Committee on Segregation." He has been working with Citizens Councils for three years to purge Negroes from the voting lists; since February, 1956, to be exact, when he warned that Negro registration was "definitely well past the danger point." And he now confidently predicts that 90 percent of the 130,000 Negroes registered to vote in Louisiana will be disqualified within two years.

The Senator bases his program for systematically circumventing a federal constitutional right—without directly challenging it—on a 63-year-old state constitutional requirement that each voter shall be able to "read and give a reasonable interpretation of any section of either the Constitution of Louisiana or the United States selected by the registrar."

In 1897 there were 130,000 Negroes (44.3 percent of the total) and 164,000 whites registered in Louisiana. The following year (1898) the number of Negroes registered had dropped to 13,000 (14.8 percent) and the number of whites had dropped to 74,000. The explanation for this sharp drop was the adoption of a new Constitution in 1896, limiting registration to those able to pass literacy tests and "properly" to interpret the federal and state Constitutions.

By 1910 Negro registration had dropped to 730 (0.6 percent). Thirty years later, in 1940, 886 Negroes (0.1 percent) were registered. In 1944 the Smith *v.* Allwright decision by the United States Supreme Court outlawed the "White Primary" and marked an upsurge of Negro voting. By 1948 there were 28,000 Negroes registered (3 percent); in 1952, 108,000 (10.2 per-

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cent); in March, 1956, an all-time high of 161,410 (15.3 percent).

It was then—in 1956 and 1957—that the Citizens' Councils began their campaign in the northern parishes to purge Negro voters, and by November, 1958, Negro registration had dropped to 130,000 (13.8 percent)—precisely the number registered in 1897 (in 1897, however, these 130,000 votes represented 44 percent of the total, while in 1958 they represented only 13.8).

Senator Rainach has said frankly that in the process of removing Negroes from the rolls, "we are going to remove a few white people. Experience shows we will." And in a public televised appearance in New Orleans on February 22, segregationist leader W. M. Shaw stated that he expected that about 10 percent of the whites would fall by the way.

At his meeting with parish registrars, Senator Rainach distributed a pamphlet titled VOTER QUALIFICATION LAWS IN LOUISIANA—KEY TO VICTORY IN THE SEGREGATION STRUGGLE. It opens with a dire prediction that "the Communists and the NAACP plan to register and vote every colored person of age in the South . . . and using their votes to set up a federal dictatorship in the United States." Then follows a "Constitutional Test for Registration" suggesting—among other suitable clauses for reasonable interpretation by would-be registrants—the Tenth Amendment ("the powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the states, are reserved for the states respectively . . .") and Article 4, Section 15 of the Louisiana Constitution ("no ex-post-facto law, nor any law impairing the obligation of contracts, shall be passed.") Referring to the reasonable interpretation requirement, State Senator J. D. Deblieux, the only Senator to challenge Rainach, told the Legislature that by "using that provision there isn't a person in this room I could not disqualify."

Content *vs.* Adjustment

JAMES B. CONANT would like to make all high schools as good as the best he has seen in this country—and he has seen a great many. Toward this end, he has put forward 21 carefully considered recommendations which include programs not only for the academically gifted but also for students who wish to learn marketable skills. There are proposals on advanced science courses and courses for slow readers. But throughout his Report there is a connecting thread: preserve and improve the quality which has distinguished American education from that of any other country. That quality, as De Tocqueville observed in 1831 is education for politics, our insistence that education for a private career is not enough, that democracy works well only when each citizen understands his rights and duties. In fact, the future of the Report itself rests on the success of our efforts in political education. Dr. Conant concludes by saying:

> I am convinced American secondary education can be made satisfactory without any radical changes in the basic pattern. This can only be done, however, if the citizens in many localities display sufficient interest in their schools and are willing to support them. The improvements must come school by school and be made with due regard to the nature of the community.

Yet, one fears, the Conant Report will be obscured by such arguments as the one featured in the *New York Times* Book Section of February 1. The immediate provocation was Admiral Hyman Rickover's book, *Education and Freedom*, and the antagonists were Professors Arthur Bestor and Theodore Brameld. In support of Rickover, Bestor charged that our schools are teaching life adjustments rather than content; if we are to compete with Russia, we must imitate Soviet efficiency. Brameld responded: yes, we need a reorganized educational system, but we cannot run a democracy by educating children in a way appropriate to a totalitarian system.

It is true that some schools, in the name of adjustment, play down the acquiring of concrete knowledge. But there are also schools, dominated by classicists, where students are stuffed with facts at the expense of the development of a critical intelligence and constructive social behavior. When such students reach first-rate colleges, where thinking rather than memorizing is called for, they often are lost. Those, like Admiral Rickover, who get through despite the system, may indeed be well-fitted for a life of combat.

At no point are the educational alternatives those of content *vs.* adjustment. It is literally impossible to separate what is taught from how one is taught. What Rickover might call pure fact must imply some method, usually authoritarian. A child can learn only so many facts, but if he is to learn how to use new facts, he must learn ways of coding them. Dr. J. S. Bruner, at Harvard, has found for example, that a child learns more geography when he is given a map and asked to predict where the biggest cities *should* be. Similarly, one can ask children to "invent" multiplication, as a short-cut for addition. So far, the most progressive and experimental schools, like the Shady Hill elementary school in Cambridge, Massachusetts, have been the most successful.

In short, debates such as this polarize falsely the problems of educational policy in our secondary schools. Dr. Conant's recommendations should not be confused with either side, for he has recognized not only that different students require different courses of study, but that in this country, the intellectual growth of communities is not uniform. Those who wish to improve American education might pay attention to the arguments which will be raised when Dr. Conant's suggestions for comprehensive high schools and curricula based on individual ability reach local school boards.

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The Superficial Aspect

The Religious Issue

SENATOR KENNEDY has himself dragged the religious issue into the open, which was undoubtedly his best move. No bogy is as formidable in daylight as in dark.

Senator Kennedy believes in the American policy of separation of Church and State. If elected President of the United States, he will not send an official envoy to the Vatican, and he will oppose any effort to spend tax money for the support of private schools. On what may be called "fringe benefits"—free lunches, free transportation of pupils to and from school, etc.—he will make no commitment, holding that these questions are strongly affected by local conditions and cannot be answered by one national rule.

So much for Senator Kennedy. He has answered every question that he may legitimately be called on to answer and there is no occasion for questioning him further. As a matter of fact, there never was much occasion for questioning him; nobody but a hopeless bigot could believe that John F. Kennedy cherished any desire to make Cardinal Spellman the *de facto* chief of state with the President as a mere front. His answers are what every man of sense expected him to say.

Nevertheless, a question remains that Senator Kennedy cannot answer, nor can anyone in the American hierarchy of the Roman Catholic Church. That question is, does the ecclesiastical organization to which Senator Kennedy professes spiritual allegiance reserve the right to put pressure on him to alter his announced political policy?

This question is not an old one. It was raised no longer ago than 1870 by the ambiguity of certain decisions of the Vatican Council of that year. It is to be remembered that the Council never formally adjourned; it was merely suspended when General Cadorna marched into Rome and decided the question of the temporal power of the Pope by force of arms. It is arguable that if the Council had been permitted to complete its work it would have clarified the position of the Church of Rome so that the disqualification of a Catholic for President of the US could not have been seriously suggested.

As it is, the Roman Church seems to be committed to the doctrine that while separation of Church and State may be tolerated in certain circumstances, it is never morally admissible. It follows that while a Catholic official is not disloyal to the Church when he enforces such separation, having found it already established, he may not accept it as morally sound.

It is probable that there is not a single American official of high rank who is not compelled by his oath of office to enforce some laws he questions. But his oath does not forbid him to work for their repeal. The President, in particular, is more than an executive. He is also the advisor of Congress on the state of the Union, and the Constitution requires him to recommend "such measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient."

The question then is, could a Catholic President, without recreancy to his spiritual allegiance, fail to recommend to Congress abandonment of the principle of separation of Church and State?

At the Vatican Council no less than 150 bishops out of 600—the Cismontane Party—held that Rome has no moral right to compel the conscience of a secular official in a matter of this kind; but they were outvoted by the Ultramontane Party, intent upon establishing the doctrine of the infallibility of the Pope when he speaks *ex cathedra*. But the Council was suspended without establishing any clear definition of the term *ex cathedra*, leaving the impression that the Pope claims authority to dictate to Catholic officials in this realm.

This is the only rational basis for questioning the advisability of electing a Catholic President of the United States; for many Americans agree with Catholic Lord Acton that separation of Church and State was decreed by Christ Himself in the dictum, "Render unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's."

WE ARE INFORMED that a new ecumenical council is soon to assemble; or, as some suggest, not a new one, but a resumption of the Vatican Council of 1870. However that may be, this would seem to present an opportunity for clarification of the position of the Church of Rome on this matter. If this could be effected, American Protestants as well as American Catholics would have reason to rejoice, for it would eliminate the last excuse for injecting into political campaigns the disruptive and usually disingenuous religious issue.

For we all lose when the attention of the voters is diverted, in a Presidential campaign, from the relevant to the irrelevant. Yet the uncertainty left by the Council of 1870 handicaps thoughtful Protestants when they try to prevent such diversion. If a Catholic is nominated while this uncertainty persists, the nomination will inevitably assist those who for their own purposes would gladly switch the attention of the people from the candidate's ideas on inflation, civil rights, and the maintenance of world order, and turn it to his views on transubstantiation and the apostolic succession.

GERALD W. JOHNSON

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Detecting Atomic Tests

Who's Telling the Truth?

by HELEN FULLER

NEGOTIATIONS for an agreement with the Russians on suspension of nuclear bomb tests are on the verge of collapse. News and rumors from London, Geneva and Washington suggest that even before Mr. Khrushchev's belligerent speech of February 24 the US had approached the Macmillan Government to join us in asking for a termination of the four-month-old Geneva conference soon after the British Prime Minister's return from Moscow.

The stated reason for our government's withdrawal when it comes will almost certainly be Russian insistence on veto power in the control council of the proposed police system. That will not, however, be the whole story —though it will be a useful explanation from the point of view of the Secretary of State, who has never shown much enthusiasm for the negotiations and has lately been harassed by almost daily demands from AEC Chairman John McCone and key defense officials to break off the talks. The "Hardtack" series of nuclear tests last fall, they have been insisting, invalidated the kind of inspection system proposed by the US at Geneva. They have claimed and still claim that the signal from an explosion of a given yield is weaker than had been expected, the earlier expectation having been based on only one "Rainier" underground test which had been conducted prior to the meeting of Experts in Geneva. And since the signal is weaker, it is more easily confused with background noises, making it more difficult than had been thought to tell the difference between non-dangerous earthquakes and possibly dangerous explosions. Any treaty barring tests could therefore be violated without detection, their argument goes.

Ordinarily there would be no reason to question interpretation of the data obtained in the Hardtack tests. But in this case there is something disturbingly reminiscent. It brings to mind another scene in the disarmament drama which occurred in Washington just a year ago with almost the same cast of characters. The question then was whether the US should even enter negotiations on a test suspension agreement with the Russians. And the same people who now say we should quit trying were then saying that we should not try in the first place.

The reasons—then and now—were technical. Last spring Dr. Edward Teller, the so-called "Father of the H-Bomb," director of the Livermore Radiation Laboratory and chief adviser to the Atomic Energy Commission, claimed that any talk of ceasing nuclear weapons tests was irresponsible. Backed by AEC Chairman Lewis Strauss and most of the Pentagon top brass, Teller argued that such an agreement would be an open invitation to the Soviet Union to engage in "bootleg" tests which would be technically impossible to detect. That being so, he said, to agree to suspend tests would inevitably endanger US security.

The zeal with which Teller elaborated his case in *Life* articles, a much-publicized book and in a succession of television appearances was persuasive. Particularly since those scientists who came forward to question his technical assertions could be and were dismissed for "not knowing the facts" because, working outside of government, they did not have access to top-secret information.

But then Sen. Hubert Humphrey's Disarmament Subcommittee, inquiring into the feasibility of test detection, called a witness who appeared to detonate Teller's case. Dr. Hans Bethe, Professor of Physics at Cornell University and a pioneer in the development of atomic weapons, stands in the front rank of nuclear physicists. As a member of the President's Committee of Scientific Advisers, he has the same access to classified data as Dr. Teller. And when he testified before the Humphrey Committee last spring that it was feasible to build a monitoring system which could detect nuclear explosions of any significant size, his words could not be easily dismissed. Proceeding further, Bethe explained his reasons for believing that a test suspension could not possibly injure our security position and might improve it.

The result of the new light cast on the subject by the Humphrey hearings was the Meeting of Experts from East and West in Geneva last summer. Justifying Dr. Bethe's position, the scientists agreed on what would be required in an inspection system to monitor nuclear ex-

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plosions. The conclusions were approved by the experts representing both the United States and the Soviet Union.

But neither Dr. Teller, the scientists who sided with him in last spring's controversy nor his backers in the AEC and the Pentagon have ever been reconciled to their defeat. And, when, after the successful meeting of scientists, the Administration agreed to enter diplomatic negotiations for a suspension agreement, the opponents of ending testing under any circumstances apparently reserved their continuing right to disagree. They worked on delegates to the political sessions in Geneva which followed to convince them that the effort was a mistake. And since the Hardtack series of underground tests in Nevada last fall, they have spared no effort to make their interpretation of the results stick.

One of Dr. Teller's major points in the debate a year ago was that science can not adequately distinguish underground explosions of limited magnitude from earthquakes. Word went out that Hardtack substantiated this fear, that technical obstacles to detecting underground explosions had developed which invalidated the inspection system the Meeting of Experts had agreed upon before the Nevada tests occurred. Cautious releases from the AEC and the Defense Department seemed to bear out these claims. Only the negative results of the test series were mentioned with no suggestion of possible corrections, and a special report prepared for the President's Science Advisory Committee proposing positive alternative methods of detection still has not been released.

Until the Senate Disarmament Subcommittee began to appraise the effect of the Hardtack information on the test control system under discussion at Geneva, only one side of the story had been told. And except for Dr. Hans Bethe's willingness to set the record straight, this might still be true. For the Humphrey Committee found it hard to get witnesses to testify and harder to get permission of the Executive agencies to make testimony public.

In a recent speech at Northwestern University Senator Humphrey explained the obstacles:

> The stated policy of the government at the moment is that we shall try to reach agreement with the Soviet Union on the discontinuance of nuclear weapons tests provided an effective control and inspection system is included in the agreement. The Department of Defense and the Atomic Energy Commission question the advisability of this policy, and say so publicly.
>
> However, all the private evidence is that the President's Science Advisory Committee, headed by Dr. James R. Killian, formerly head of Massachusetts Institute of Technology, approves the policy.
>
> Yet neither Killian nor any of the members of the Committee can publicly say they agree with the policy if their statements imply they are speaking as a member of the Committee. So what we have is a policy, the defenders of which are gagged and those who oppose it have a relatively free hand in expressing their opposition.

To clear the testimony that *is* given is equally laborious. Taking the recent inquiry into the meaning of the Hardtack tests as an example, Humphrey went on:

> Many hearings, the Subcommittee felt required to hold in Executive session so that the Executive officers could speak frankly. . . . An Executive session means that no witness can refuse to speak or discuss a matter on grounds that the matter is classified. However, the Subcommittee requested each witness to go over his testimony carefully so that the maximum portion of it could be made public, and thus contribute to the public's understanding of the issues involved. Getting information . . . released . . . is a frustrating and time-consuming job. . . .
>
> Let me give you some examples. . . . You will immediately see, I think, that the withholding of some of the information is justified, that the withholding of some of the information is questionable, and that the refusal to disclose still other information borders on the ridiculous.
>
> *Case No. 1.* Information relating to the weight of atomic weapons relative to their yield is classified. This, I think you will agree, is clearly sensitive. I have no quarrel with this type of classification.
>
> *Case No. 2.* A private witness who has been serving the government in a specific capacity makes recommendations to the Executive branch regarding future policies on the relationship of disarmament matters to the prevention of surprise attack. These recommendations are agreed to by one agency, but may be opposed by another agency and, therefore, the recommendations are classified.
>
> This case I would call questionable.
>
> It is understandable that the Executive branch prefers to coordinate policy and reach agreement with all agencies concerned before a given policy is stated to the public. But such an attitude assumes that the public should not be privy to the formulation of policy, that the public should only know of policy after it has been set and determined. . . .
>
> So I say that a witness' personal recommendations may be legitimately withheld from the public for a time, but if weeks go by and nothing happens, then it is time for the public and its representatives in Congress to begin to ask questions, and to apply pressure to have these matters brought before the public for debate.
>
> *Case No. 3.* Scientific research is now going on regarding the study of the earth, how to distinguish earthquakes from nuclear explosions, and how to perfect instruments to identify earthquakes and explosions. This research is still classified. I fail to comprehend why the nature of the research is withheld. The research does not deal with weapons; it deals with seismology. We are told that if instruments are placed deep in the earth, this may be an excellent means

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of detecting and identifying nuclear explosions and earthquakes. But *you* cannot be told how the experiments will be conducted, where they will be conducted, who is responsible for carrying on the research, and when it is expected to be completed. Yet, the experiments would have great interest for seismologists the world over, and even more important at this particular time, the results could have a significant impact on negotiations now underway in Geneva for a controlled suspension of nuclear weapons tests.

Case No. 4. Certain portions of testimony are deleted on the ground that the witness is a consultant to an advisory body to the President and, therefore, the information should not be given out. Not only is it contended that this is privileged information, but it is contended that since the testimony of the witness may conflict with the views of another Executive agency, that this matter should be left to be ironed out within the Executive branch of the government.

What this amounts to is that a regular Executive department can air *its* views in public, even if these views conflict with public policy, but a consultant to a Presidential advisory body cannot make some of his views public, even if they agree with the policy. Now this is a strange situation.

Case No. 5. Another type of information that the government classified in our recent hearings has to do with the validity of arguments presented by the Soviet Union. A government witness in the course of his testimony suggested that the Soviet Union possibly had a valid objection to one of our arguments, but the Executive branch decided this ought to be censored.

Cases 2, 3, and 4 all apply to the testimony which Dr. Hans Bethe gave before Humphrey's Committee on Monday, February 2. And four executive agencies claimed the right to censor. But part of Dr. Bethe's remarks are now declassified, and another side of the Hardtack story begins to emerge.

Pravda's claim that the new data obtained from the Nevada tests changes nothing is not true, Dr. Bethe says. But neither are the "statements I have seen in the US press which sound as if the world were coming to an end, and the Hardtack II results were an indication that we could not detect underground explosions at all . . . satisfactorily. There have been exaggerations on both sides," he told the Committee.

"The main result of the October test in Nevada," as Dr. Bethe sees it, "was that the first motion of the earth as recorded by the seismograph is reduced to about 40 percent of what we previously expected."

> Now the first motion is important because this is the way we tell explosions from earthquakes. In explosions . . . the first motion is always outward. You push the earth away by the explosion, and you observe this outward motion at all seismic stations wherever you are.
>
> In an earthquake, on the other hand, you get an outward motion in some directions and an inward motion in other directions, and therefore, if you can observe the seismic signal at many stations, then you can tell an earthquake from an explosion by observing carefully the first motion.
>
> If you find that at all stations the first motion is positive, as we say, outward, upward, then you have an explosion.
>
> If you observe that it is positive at some stations and negative at other stations, then you have almost surely an earthquake.
>
> Now the Geneva Conference of Experts . . . generally agreed in the discussions that in order to identify an earthquake one should observe two negative motions: one should have at two seismic stations a clear negative signal, downward signal, where the earth first moves down and then comes back up again.
>
> So it is the first motion which permits you to tell an explosion from an earthquake.
>
> Now, that is important because there are hundreds of earthquakes each year which give as big a signal as the explosions that we are concerned about, and therefore we must be able to distinguish the earthquakes from the explosions, and the best way we have found so far is this first motion. . . .
>
> And, therefore, since first motion is much less than had been anticipated, we have the result that it is more difficult to tell earthquakes from explosions in the region of 5 to 20 kilotons.
>
> Now the question is what you do about it, and in my opinion there are a number of very good methods to improve the system which was devised last summer in Geneva.
>
> Any one of these methods has to be agreed to by the Russians. *However, the Geneva experts' report already contains a very important sentence, namely, it says improvements will undoubtedly be found, and when they are found they shall be incorporated in the system.* So we really have this already in the experts' report that something should be done about it.

Dr. Bethe then recommended several new methods for improving detection.

> The one that I like best is that of digging a deep hole such as a dry oil well . . . and at the bottom of such a deep hole maybe 6,000 feet deep you would install a seismograph.
>
> Now, of course, you have to learn to operate a seismograph at the bottom of such a deep hole, and this will have to be studied and investigated. . . . But the theoretical prediction is that you might improve your detection capability by a substantial factor. . . . We could get a system which is actually better than we originally thought the Geneva system would be. . . .
>
> I think it is very likely that it will be a good technique, because the trouble of observing seismic signals is that . . . there are always little disturbances of the earth . . . present, and which are worst near the seashore and get better inland, and it is believed that these disturbances are little waves traveling on the surface of the earth. . . . The second method which I like

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very much is to put in small stations with just one seismograph, and this on the surface, but put these in not every 600 miles but every 100 miles.

Now, obviously you cannot do this and put observers at each of these posts. First of all, you do not have that many seismologists; and secondly, you would run into objections from the Russians.

But these stations could very well be very simple, and be unmanned. . . . You put them under lock and key with a burglar alarm so people do not tamper with them, and you have some kind of system to transmit the information from the little station to the next big station so that you get a record all the time. . . .

I think there is no question that improvements are possible and this particular improvement does not require any further study. . . . It is known that one can observe signals of sufficient strength; it is known that one can make very cheap and simple seismographs which will do this. And so, the only question then is to make them tamperproof, and to transmit the information.

Committee members then turned to questioning:

SENATOR HUMPHREY: In other words, if these improvements of detection and identification are placed in effect, then the new data do not weaken the detection identification system?

DR. BETHE: That is correct.

SENATOR HUMPHREY: In fact, according to what you are saying, Dr. Bethe, there would be an improvement in the detection and identification system.

DR. BETHE: That is correct, yes, if these new components are added to the Geneva system. . . .

SENATOR HUMPHREY: Do you have any other suggested improvements?

DR. BETHE: Yes. . . . To put more seismographs at every station. . . . The Geneva system already calls for 10 seismographs at each station. But instead of 10 you could put 100. Now, I do not like this method because it is a brute force and an inelegant method, and I prefer elegant methods. But it is a possibility, and I think this possibility very likely but not certainly could bring us back to the capability of the Geneva system as originally envisaged.

SENATOR HUMPHREY: In other words, by just maximizing the number of seismographs at the agreed-upon number of stations you could bring your capability of detection and identification back to the original Geneva calculations?

DR. BETHE: So we hope. . . .

SENATOR HUMPHREY: Dr. Bethe, what means of inspection do you suggest for the superhigh altitude nuclear tests?

DR. BETHE: I believe the best way of observing such explosions is from satellites. . . . These particular ones to be equipped with detecting equipment for the detection of the radiations which emanate from nuclear explosions. The nice point about this is that in empty space the radiations travel unhindered over terrific distances. . . .

SENATOR HUMPHREY: The establishment of satellite observation stations for the purpose of detection and identification of nuclear explosions in outer space is realistic, feasible?

DR. BETHE: Yes.

SENATOR HUMPHREY: And within our capability?

DR. BETHE: Definitely.

Senator Humphrey then turned to larger matters:

Dr. Bethe, you are a member of the President's Advisory Committee, a consultant to the Atomic Energy Commission and the Defense Department, and you were a consultant to the State Department for the two Geneva conferences, one on the technical means of detecting tests and the other a political conference to draft a treaty on the discontinuance of nuclear weapons.

DR. BETHE: Yes. . . .

SENATOR HUMPHREY: I asked a question this morning of Generals Taylor and White: Are we ahead of the Soviet Union in nuclear and thermonuclear weapons, in number, quality, design, variety, and sophistication? Their answer was "Yes." Do you think so?

DR. BETHE: I think so.

SENATOR HUMPHREY: Are we substantially ahead of them?

DR. BETHE: Yes.

SEN. HUMPHREY: If that is the case, then would it not be in our national interest to slow down the weapons development. [Deleted]

DR. BETHE: That is certainly correct. [Deleted]

SENATOR HUMPHREY: I recall your testimony last year to the effect that, in 1955 when the Soviets first came to the United Nations with their propaganda barrage, saying, "Let's stop the tests," we had a substantial lead on them at that time. You further said that, had the tests been stopped then, their weapons technology would have been far, far behind ours. Is that correct?

DR. BETHE: That is correct, and I will stand by this completely.

SENATOR HUMPHREY: Is it your view, then, that if we can sign an agreement, the kind of agreement that our Government would sign, would it be in our national interest?

DR. BETHE: I think so. . . . And if we once get one, I believe that others may follow and that the principle will thereby be established. This, I think, is the overriding argument.

Thanks to Dr. Bethe, the debate on disarmament policy can be renewed in daylight. For it looks suspiciously like Senator Humphrey is right in saying that "political problems, not technical obstacles are the main roadblocks to an agreement on the suspension of nuclear weapons tests."

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Unfinished Business Outdoors

by RICHARD L. NEUBERGER

JEFFERSON may have ruminated on the incredible outdoors as he rode his stallion Eagle through the Virginia woods, but there was then time for such contemplation. Franklin D. Roosevelt could identify each tree in his green arboretum at Hyde Park. When he was in the outdoors he said he felt exactly like Antaeus, the mythical giant of old, who gained strength just by touching the earth again. Yet would FDR have felt this way had he not been bound to a wheel-chair?

Today, a public personage must worry about headlines and press releases, about TV shows and shaking the right hands, about banquet speeches and political rallies, about using every moment at cocktail parties for a contact which will further his career. Who can think of robin redbreasts or prong-horned antelope? Teddy Roosevelt might have been a man who liked to ride his favorite mustang counting the few remaining bison of the plains; he even could make a lonely bivouac in the Yosemite with bearded John Muir—while his Secret Service guards had been banished to the inn, far away. But there were sophisticates who insisted that Teddy Roosevelt never really grew up.

True, President Eisenhower likes to cast a dry fly and flush a covey of quail, but not under the circumstances required of most of those who put him in the White House. The private hunting preserves and exclusive ranches of his wealthy friends have been the locale of most of Mr. Eisenhower's forays into the outdoors. The average fellow would be a poacher if he invaded these precincts. The President, for all his love of the open sky, likes to be back at a candle-lit manor house by nightfall. His is not the language of the man who must share a crowded public campground, stake to stake with the other fellow's pyramidal tent.

For some inscrutable reason, the question of conservation lacks "glamor." It may be that protecting birds and bees is too unsophisticated for the editors, columnists and VIP's by whom most politicians set great store. The fate of a salmon pilgrimage, waterfowl flock or spruce forest looms as pallid fare to people who think they carry the fate of nuclear testing or a balanced budget on their shoulders. One rarely can cause a ripple at a Washington reception by expressing concern over the destiny of moose grubbing for algae in an upland lake. Indeed, I rather fear that a political leader who talked about such things might be written off as a backwoods yokel by those who have custody over who gets banner headlines or billing on the TV panel shows.

Yet the issues in the outdoors mean a great deal to many less-exalted citizens. Last year 59 million people visited the National Parks and 68 million migrated to the more numerous National Forests. Some 20 million Americans hold fishing licenses; 15 million have hunting licenses. Despite the inevitable duplication in such compilations, the totals are impressive. And to these must be added the millions active in the Audubon Society, Garden Clubs, Boy and Girl Scouting and similar projects. Izaak Walton League chapters in my state often have more sustained attendance at meetings than either Chambers of Commerce or trade unions.

I remember the grizzled Idaho frontiersmen in the Lochsa River country who told me how they had killed off the mountain lions that were devouring their herds and flocks. With the lions gone, deer multiplied astronomically. When the forage ran out, the multitude of deer was driven to eating bushes and young saplings. Flash floods surged off the denuded hillsides, destroying infinitely more livestock than ever the mountain lions had taken. Nature's delicate balance had been upset.

The issues are of far greater complexity today than on the old frontier. Can we safeguard crops from insects without eliminating birdlife? If adequate financing is not assured for dams and reservoirs, will we make effective use of our cheapest and most perpetual source of energy—plumes of tumbling water? If we sacrifice the outdoors to subdivisions and supermarkets, where will 200 million Americans take their leisure in 1975? Are television sets and concrete stadiums to be our sole recreation?

And always there is the spectre of the Soviet Union—with forests and mines that have never been tapped, with four dams under construction to surpass our own Grand Coulee, with its trunkline railroads being electrified in order to save precious petroleum, with fisheries and waterfowl marshes beyond measurement.

If I were one of the politicians who aspired to lead the United States during the next eight years (which I

RICHARD L. NEUBERGER, *46, the junior Senator from Oregon, is the author of much legislation in the field of conservation. He recently was named by Vice President Nixon as one of the Senate members of the National Outdoor Recreation Resources Review Commission.*

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am not), these are a few of the issues in the realm of conservation which I would be thinking about very intently:

► Some 68 million Americans camp, fish or hike each year in our National Forests. Yet, when private lands surround these public preserves, people have been assessed entrance fees as high as $25 to enter their own domain. The government has authority to prevent this, and it should be used. More than 1.5 million acres in Colorado alone are dominated by private interests, and similar situations exist in other Western states.

► Such pesticides as dieldrin have been effective in destroying plant pests like fire ants, but often all birds and small game animals perish in the process. Doves, bobwhites, rabbits and even deer are dying with the gypsy moths. Dieldrin is said to be five times as deadly as DDT, which already had caused concern over its lethal impact on geese, ducks, quail and similar birdlife. A lot of research by federal agricultural scientists is required, because some rural counties are literally being saturated with pesticides sprinkled from planes and helicopters. The *Boston Herald* has warned that these poisons may do more harm than good.

► President Eisenhower's famous $77 billion budget is bad news for the American outdoors. Funds are cut for grants to clean up stream pollution, although pure water supplies are an ever-increasing national need. Forest Service funds for recreation and public use have been reduced 15 percent, despite more extensive pressure than ever on campgrounds, roads and trails. Cooperative tree-planting funds, between federal and state agencies, are trimmed in the President's budget by approximately 33 percent. Fisheries research is given only a lick and a promise, although migratory salmon runs are in constant peril.

► The Wilderness Preservation Bill, which would give statutory protection to the relatively few scenic acres still as primitive as when Lewis and Clark went west, deserves earnest consideration by the Senate and House. Senator Murray and I held hearings in the Western states on this legislation last November. Its support came mainly from recreationists, the opposition from those who would fell the trees or mine the land within wilderness solitudes. The bill needs modifying amendments but its purpose is right. Why not spare a few museum pieces of the original America? Central Park might bring a lot of money to City Hall's coffers if sold for real-estate promotion, but what New Yorker sound of mind would trade Central Park for such a *quid pro quo?*

► After a terrific battle with the outdoor-advertising lobby, Senator Kuchel of California and I were successful last year in having adopted a bill to provide a bonus for any state which would accept federal standards for safeguarding scenery along the 42,000-mile interstate highway system. This struggle has now shifted to state legislatures, where the signboard owners and their trade-union associates continue high-pressure tactics. Despite our victory in Congress, this will be meaningless unless legislatures take the carrot of the one-half percent bonus offered for keeping federal-aid roads free of the clutter of billboards.

► The great river-valley experiment along the Tennessee is in danger of stagnation because the Administration has been loathe to recommend the appropriations necessary to build steam plants to keep pace with load needs. A self-financing bill sponsored principally by Senators Hill and Gore passed the Senate last year but was held up in the House Rules Committee. Renewal of this legislation is essential to survival of the Tennessee Valley Authority.

► In the Pacific Northwest, where the mighty Columbia River contains 40 percent of the country's latent hydroelectricity, a somewhat similar program is urgent. This would be a Columbia River Regional Power Corporation bill, permitting the system of federal dams like Grand Coulee and Bonneville to use their own revenues for the purpose of adding new and desperately-needed power plants. In spite of the fact that existing dams on the Columbia have collected gross revenues to date of more than $500 million, they still must go hat-in-hand to the Budget Bureau for funds. This has retarded development, and has caused the country's highest rate of unemployment in a region which should have unlimited quantities of low-cost power for new industrial payrolls.

► Senator Hubert Humphrey's Youth Conservation Corps bill, creating a revival of the CCC, would furnish a contingent of young Americans to help restore the facilities which furnish recreation in the outdoors. Our National Parks and Forests received their greatest rehabilitation a quarter of a century ago when FDR organized the Civilian Conservation Corps and sent them into the Western fastnesses with trail-building equipment and mobile kitchens.

The agenda of unfinished business is long, but I believe these few items are illustrative. Even a bus driver in Brooklyn, who may never see the Yosemite or Mount Hood, does not want such places defiled or exploited. He feels better about his country when he knows that these places exist and are protected. Both in 1952 and 1956, some of my friends and I tried to get a major role for conservation speeches on the agenda of the Democratic National Convention. Obviously, we failed. Yet, I think it would have been good for the country, and it might even have been good politics!

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BOOKS & COMMENT

The Non-Conforming Self

by T. J. Ross

FOR the lively 19th-Century man the term, "self-help," implied mainly how to go about achieving some dominance over external resources. When we think of "self-help" now, it is not in terms of making use of external resource, but in terms of a gruesome and plaintive query: In those shocks it has endured in its combat with the external, have any inner resources been left to the self which may serve to remind it that it does, in fact, exist? Our ad-mass commentators have been quick to seize on this change to emphasis. We are in the midst of a spate of uplifting fare like: "A Guide to Wholesome Non-Conforming Activities For You—and For the Entire Family" by Dr. Abigail Trailblazer; or, "Are You the Individualist You Could—and Should—Be?" Every freshman in America is now scribbling a theme on these Problems.

The Ginger Man, by J. P. Donleavy (McDowell-Obolensky; $3.95).

It is therefore refreshing to take note of so playful, insincere, and wasteful a non-guide to the self and its concerns, as J. P. Donleavy's novel. The subject of *The Ginger Man* is precisely the Non-Conforming Individual Self. For the novel's hero, the best self-defense against the robotizing effects of modern activity inheres in the pleasures, and pathos, of the body. If there is a "positive" value in this seemingly nihilistic story, it lies in its assertion of the unassailable reality of physical being. Like any other intransigent exemplar of a principle, this exemplar sometimes acts outrageously and inexcusably — as we might expect from someone whose name itself—Sebastian Dangerfield—is almost offensively fancy.

The hero's resistance to any sort of counterfeit which threatens to rob him of his sense of the real, which is to say, of the physical, is so stubborn it becomes downright quirky, if not "obsessive." Let's note, first, one of his least offensive quirks—his hatred of "spectator-activities," like the movies, theatre, or sports events. Early in the story, Dangerfield makes a point of letting us know he never goes to the theatre and we may wonder why he's brought that in till, in the closing chapters of the story, we note his reaction to news that his mistress has won a movie contract. We might suppose he would be cheered by this news, since his plan had been to live for a while in London, supported by the lady. Yet the news upsets our hero to the extent that he loses his poise of Despair, his winsome, fretful, insincere "acceptance" and yells in chagrin that he won't tolerate his mistress' venture into filmland. Mary has no use for the film world, either: her motives are bedrock. "I don't want to have anything to do with the films but I thought if I could get some money I could help us." No hangdog all-suffering "earth-mother" sort, she then reminds her lover that he is "a damn bastard." At which point, he slaps her to the floor, threatens to kick her, and says: "I don't like the stage in any form. It's rot. I don't like it." For this ginger man stage and screen symbolize a threateningly powerful counterfeit of self.

THE ACTION of the story consists of the hero's rambles through the sleazier parts of Dublin, during which he meets a series of semi-counterfeit types, several of whom he takes to bed. Toward most of these types his attitude is "happy-go-lucky" and "accepting." When, however, toward the end of the story, he meets a pair of near-complete counterfeits he again draws the line as firmly as he drew it on Mary's aspirations as a starlet. If the action of the novel's loosely arranged sequences moves anywhere, it moves toward this final meeting. The people involved are a pair of the hero's fellow Americans. One is an Ivy League tourist named Osgood, and he talks like this: "The Irish have such vitality and wit. And I do think wit is essential." Osgood's companion hails from Sutton Place and the right schools and she talks like this: "I just love that little red beard of his. . . . He'd just slay them at Goucher. He's so virile and mature." At this moment, our hero stops the cab in which he'd been riding with the touring tandem, and rudely jumps out.

In his attitude to money the same intransigence is apparent. Insofar as money-getting and money-having tend to transform one into a primping jaw-wagging bore like Osgood or his companion, our hero dodges its influence. When he learns that his deceased rich Dad has cut him from the family will, till he should have reached the stable age of forty-six, his response is as relieved as it is despairing. The series of raging drunks on which he embarks are not so much in witness of his frustration as they are a mode of celebration.

DONLEAVY'S depictions of the Drunkard's Night Out are of a disturbing power. We must be careful to distinguish here between the drunken bouts of the ginger man and the diplomatic drinking routines, of, say, the socialite or the academic Babbitt. In these instances, getting drunk serves mainly as one more self-aggrandizing antic, generally of a profitable sort; for example, it is good form in academic circles to have an anecdote on tap about how one got "drunk" at the MLA convention with a set of discreetly merry-making poetasters. In fact, like Dr. Trailblazer's *Digest* tips on non-conforming, our little verse reviews are now beginning to offer essays on Drunkenness as a Sensitive Activity. Donleavy's drunk scenes are of an entirely different order of experience. The reader will find them almost as impressive as similar scenes in Joyce.

Equally impressive is Donleavy's treatment of character. Although most of the people with whom the hero has to do are "ordinary" types, with quiet gray names like Miss Brown, they are never patronized by being turned into symbols of say, endurance, or art, or woman-in-the-machine age or some other bit of lugubrious cosmic import. In his response to ordinary people, Donleavy manifests scorn, hatred, pity, lust, affection—but never that refined

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disdain nor that muted hysteria which seem to be the extremes of response between which most American writers swing. For all their scant opportunity to remain on stage and perform, the characters emerge clearly and memorably defined.

Each lady with whom the hero has to do, represents, from his point of view, a counterfeit attitude toward sex. One melancholy lass named Christine hopes that her sexual nip-ups with Dangerfield will lead to their forming a Noble Team against loneliness; hers is the counterfeit of romantic illusion. Miss Frost, before she thaws, is worried by a sense of sin; etc. In relation to sexuality each of the women speaks the language of self-righteousness whereas the hero represents the intransigent insistences of the actual. The preliminary dialogues between the hero and the objects of his gladsome lusts, during which he cajolingly "plays up" to their counterfeit attitudes, are high comedy. Pathos is involved, as in all comedy, but the fact that the aims of the hero do coincide with those of the ladies makes the comic mode dominant.

The form in which Donleavy sets his sex passages reinforce the comic mode. It is a form of presentation, furthermore, which will be particularly familiar to any product of the American public high school:

> So I said to her—
> Then she said to me—
> So I—
> Then she—
> Till we—

It is this form of discourse which Donleavy stylishly exploits. His hero too derives ultimately out of the great underground myths of the public high school (and college) universe, myths, be it noted, which have nothing to do with Davy Crockett or Johnny Appleseed. Although his key weapon is neither trusty rifle nor fishing pole, Sebastian Dangerfield is a figure out of American legend—at home, not in the silences of the virgin forest but among the babblings of testy women.

There is a distinctively non-European quality in Donleavy's treatment of sex. To the European sex is a very serious and earnest affair: the operatic mode of his great love stories (all of which deal with mistresses, rather than wives: where, in European literature, do we see the wife as anything more than a social grace?) attests to this deadly earnestness. *Lolita*, to take a recent example, is a work developed very much in the traditional operatic mode. It is instructive to note that for all the comedic high jinks of this novel, the narrator's sense of fun remains firmly detached from his sense of sex. The to-do over the "nymphet" suggests, moreover, the frenzied hoop-la of a temperament deprived of the ordinary opportunity to grow up "at home" with the female—a standard benefit of a public school education. (Nor should we suppose that the characterization of the nymphet has anything to do with the discovery of the American landscape. Years before he ever saw this country, Nabokov had won his reputation as a fictioneer with his *Camera Oscura*—paperbacked here as *Laughter in the Dark:* its plot involves the romance of a vicious teen-age usherette and a middle-aged art curator; the action develops by means of romps across a continent during which a rival, like the depraved playwright of *Lolita*, makes off with the sick lover's lady fair: the main change in *Lolita* is that the age-limit is dropped a bit; the plot remains the same).

THE creative sources tapped by the expatriate American schoolboy appear to have the advantage over those tapped by the expatriate *boulevardier*. For the Ginger Man is an advanced, and difficult, work. Unlike *Lolita*, it is not easy "to take," for it challenges our powers of response beyond the domain of the aesthetic. It has no melodious interludes, no ecstatic references to a boring childhood, no cute local-coloring of a sort reviewers like to call "a lyrical passage of great beauty." To continue mixing categories, it is a gritty, near atonal work. If not wholly successful, it is a work in which the author takes real chances.

Not the least of these is his approach to sex. It leans on no standard models like the European (sex as grand opera); nor the Laurentian (sex as a religious experience); nor the suburban (sex as a requisite hygiene); nor the hipsterish (sex as an attestation of Group Togetherness). Not that Donleavy's is the last word on the subject, nor meant to be. What is important is that he emerges in American letters as that rarest of rare birds: a writer who can treat of sex without becoming upset.

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The Professor Beards the Bureaucrats

by Clark Mollenhoff

PROFESSOR SCHWARTZ is not likely to be misunderstood today as he was early in 1958. A year ago, he was thought a dreamer for suggesting that regulatory agency Commissioners should be held to the same standard of conduct as federal judges. The mood of the country has changed, and the Justice Department has now agreed with the Schwartz contention that it is improper for anyone to make secret contact with members of regulatory agencies when the agencies are deciding a case.

The Professor and the Commissions, by Bernard Schwartz (Knopf; $4).

This is a dramatic account of the explosive six months during which Schwartz fought a variety of political pressures to expose what was wrong with "The Big Six"—the Federal Communications Commission, Interstate Commerce Commission, Securities and Exchange Commission, Federal Trade Commission, Federal Power Commission and the Civil Aeronautics Board. It is made clear that these agencies suffer not only from basic mismanagement but from subtly corrupting influences that have not been eradicated by law. Schwartz points out that brief as his survey was he was able to find evidence that nearly all of the agencies have succumbed to pressures from the White House and the Bureau of the Budget, and he suggests that there are a good many more officials would be fired or forced to resign should the Congress and the Administration decide to uphold strict ethical standards.

Now he is able to tell his whole story, without the political interference and interpretations that were placed on his efforts to investigate the regulatory agencies in the fall of 1957 and until he was fired on February 10, 1958. He is able to describe how the administrations of Franklin D. Roosevelt and Harry S. Truman were responsible for many of the corrupting practices that flamed into the open under the Eisenhower administration. Roosevelt, he says, used the Bureau of the Budget and other means to influence the policies of the so-called independent regulatory agencies, and it was only a slight extension of some of these practices that brought trouble to Sherman Adams. He relates how two other lawyers tried to investigate these agencies during Roosevelt's time, and finally quit with a charge that the whole thing was being "whitewashed." Those relatively quiet resignations caused no commotion, and the same bad practices continued, Dr. Schwartz says in explaining why he felt it necessary to take his case to the public in blazing headlines.

This is an important book because it clarifies the complex legal problem inherent in our huge administrative bureaucracy in a way the average citizen can understand. Only a bright and industrious legal scholar could read all of the decisions of these agencies and extricate from the record the history of how political influence and back-door deals have taken the place of fair and open hearings; how the public is affected by the multi-million dollar decisions on the allocation of television channels or airline routes. In caustic and, in some cases, amusing fashion Dr. Schwartz demonstrated that the Goldfine-Adams affair and the Mack case barely scratched the surface of impropriety.

The little Law Professor is amazingly objective in dealing with most of the people and events. There is, understandably, a touch of bitterness that influences his assessment of those who fired him; but the bitterness does not detract from the book, it makes it more exciting. His judgment of Chairman Oren Harris, the Arkansas Democrat, is particularly critical. The differences between Schwartz and Harris might well have been differences on "methods" of achieving the same goal; that at least is Chairman Harris' claim. But one can understand why Schwartz reads other motives into the actions of men who dismissed him.

The Schwartz story is required reading for those who want the full account of the explosion that rocked the Federal Communications Commission and led to the rather reluctant resignation of Sherman Adams. There is new material, and fuller explanations than were available at the time even to reporters who were covering the story most aggressively.

Portrait of an Imperialist

by Leonard Phillips

IN AUGUST, 1914, with the outbreak of World War I, Field-Marshall Earl Kitchener of Khartoum entered the British cabinet as Secretary of State for War.

Lord Kitchener's heroic mustache was as symbolic of British solidarity and virility as Churchill's cigars became some 25 years later. Kitchener perished in the North Sea in June, 1916, when HMS Hampshire, bearing him on a secret mission to Russia, struck a mine. Although few Englishmen have enjoyed so high a place in public esteem, his prestige was at a low ebb within the small cabinet group who were running the British war effort at the time of his death. His career has since been the subject of a good deal of discussion and disagreement among historians, biographers, and army officers.

Kitchener: Portrait of an Imperialist, by Philip Magnus (Dutton; $6.50).

Horatio Herbert Kitchener, a natural recluse and a lifetime bachelor, was an outsider from the time of his birth, as an Englishman in Ireland, in 1850. Given a brief and belated schooling in Switzerland, he stood in marked contrast to the more cultivated and better educated "gentlemen cadets" of Woolwich, who came of polite society, the public schools, and in many cases, the universities. His ignorance caused him feelings of acute embarrassment which he sought to overcome by adhering to a study schedule so rigorous he nearly ruined his health.

Active service was the way to advancement and, once he was commissioned in the Engineers, he followed the guns. Given the opportunity to command, he excelled in training and leading Egyptian troops. Knowledge of

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Arabic, mastery of the art of disguise, and skill in dealing with native tribesmen in the Sudan enabled him to accomplish crucial intelligence missions. He surpassed his competition in drive, energy and thoroughness and was a general by the time he was 40. Clubbed, stoned, and shot by enemies; contracting re-current malaria; his sight impaired by over-exposure to the desert sun: the way up had been hard. But his work came to the attention of the great Salisbury, who became his confidant, mentor and hero; and who selected him to lead the Nile River Campaign. This enabled Kitchener, by the smashing victory at Omdurman, to avenge the death of "Chinese" Gordon, his other hero, and become an international military figure.

Tall, sternly handsome, manly and military in bearing, he looked his part, but other than to consolidate his influence in London by shrewd use of personal contacts with the Crown and the governing class, Kitchener made little off-duty effort to make people like him. He could be thoughtful or charming, but more often he chose to be rough and rude, as when he called a group of reporters "drunken swabs" to their faces. Though he faced dangers with his troops, he sometimes went out of his way to avoid speaking to them. He accustomed himself to the life of an autocrat: keeping his own counsel, doing as he pleased, and unless he felt like it, communicating with no one, except occasionally God, Buckingham Palace, and Hatfield House.

A wizard at improvisation, celebrated for his grasp of detail and capacity for work, Kitchener was a sort of military small business man who could pinch pennies and make-do with next to nothing. His work in South Africa, where he brought the Boer War to a close; in India, where he forced through a reorganization of army command structure against Curzon's opposition; and in Egypt, where he instituted reforms to benefit agriculture and the peasant farmers, was of a high order, and it kept Kitchener's name before the public.

But it kept him, and by his own choice, as far as possible from the Staff College at Aldershot, the War Office in London, and the reading of current or classic books on war, history and politics. He remained unsophisticated about modern central staff organization and procedure, as well as high level governmental processes. He doubted his ability to be effective in a War Office milieu, and dreaded the prospect of being called to London in the event of crisis. He hoped instead to finish out his career as Viceroy to India, and then retire to enjoy the collection of porcelain, gold plate and oil paintings he had acquired for his Broome Park and South African estates.

But the sudden events of 1914 gave him full charge of army supplies, munitions, recruiting, training, transport and strategy, and he attempted to serve not only as Secretary for War, but as chief of staff and supreme military commander as well. Unfitted by habit, and unprepared by experience or knowledge for all but the last of these tasks, his personal traits and autocratic methods were resented and criticized by men who were his cabinet equals. He often failed to recall their names. His detractors called him secretive, uninformed, inarticulate, and even stupid; described his policies as vacillating; and found fault with his handling of Haldane's territorial system, munitions, and the Dardenelles campaign.

His contribution lay in the policies he carried out in accordance with his remarkable foresight. He was quite alone in predicting a long war fought out by huge armies, and he did so as early as 1910, after touring the battlefields of the Russo-Japanese war. His paramount belief was that allied effort, including US participation, was essential to victory. As the 70 division army which he recruited, equipped and trained was maturing, he patiently refrained from using his great power to retaliate against personal enemies, enduring humiliation and even insubordination in the interests of allied and national unity and morale.

As much as by the frame of reference and attitudes his background had given or denied him, he was handicapped by inadequate administrative machinery. His principal vehicle, the Imperial General Staff, was an immature body tardily founded in 1906. Resignations as a result of the Curragh "mutiny" and the premature shipment of key officers to France left the staff a headless skeleton; and not until Robertson's recall in late 1915 did Kitchener have the aid of a capable chief or a general staff which assumed its proper share of burdens.

The new biography by Sir Philip Magnus, aptly sub-titled "Portrait of an Imperialist," is compact, dispassionate, and well proportioned. Excerpts from the Kitchener and Salisbury papers have been superbly employed. Other personalities spring to life; glimpses of the period they lived in flash across the pages; yet the focus stays clear on Kitchener. The result is an up-to-date, well-balanced picture of a traditional, instructive, and still-controversial career.

At Home in Harlem

by Geoffrey Wagner

QUITE by accident my second morning in New York I took a pleasant apartment in East Harlem, where I lived for over seven years. So Dan Wakefield's report of the district gave me the real glow of an old grad.

Island in the City: The World of Spanish Harlem, by Dan Wakefield (Houghton Mifflin; $4.)

Although a resident of a mere six months, Wakefield seems to have crossed my path on a number of occasions: Marcantonio's funeral (a genuine local tribute), P.S. 168, that crowded crosstown bus he refers to (called, I might add, the Spick Special by the kindly Irish drivers), and various bars, bodegas, and squares. I even met again that infuriating fellow who used to serenade one in stage brogue from tenement courtyards (Wakefield *liked* him). However, I was simply living in the area, not writing a book about it, and while *Island in the City* contained omissions in my experience, it compensated by a number of revelations.

It omitted, for my money, the following East Harlemesque items: the indigenous summer fiestas, which are (or were) really unlike anything else in New York; the sense of life being conducted out-of-doors; the fine public libraries whose staffs deserve a big hand (a liberal attitude to theft here—a book

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stolen goes into a bookless home); the tremendous variety of out-of-the-way foods available, especially fish and vegetables; the business of prostitution, which is virtually European in standard.

Wakefield is strong on garment sweatshops and on such matters as local superstition; I had not realized quite how thoroughly the latter is used to compensate for cultural activity in the community (rub your tummy with talc to have a "light" baby). And he is excellent on housing. For New York public housing tenants face eviction if they rise above salary brackets; thus they regard their projects as hotels, which rapidly decline into further slum ghettos. Then again, since I managed to stay outside police stations, Wakefield's allegations concerning police brutality had to be taken on trust; yet, judging from the integrity of his other accounts, there would seem to have been cases approaching police torture here. And Mayor Wagner's consolation about "the human factor" in C.C.N.Y.'s new Police Academy courses is, I am sure, put in the local equivalent of what *The New Yorker* calls its Ho Hum Department. Still, the police have here to deal with mass juvenile dope addiction. The enormous boredom and lack of intrinsic fantasy in city life accounts for much of this, I think, and it is to be noted that "the great majority of Puerto Ricans who come to New York, and other US cities, are not laborers but city people."

Despite its terrific descriptive sentimentality, and bi-valued approach, this book contains much useful information; it took me vividly back to that world of SIN PRONTO, of colored toilet seats, of flint-faced furniture salesmen mugging up their Spanish grammars, and of incomparably lovely children in ugly streets and playgrounds.

Notes on Contributors

T. J. ROSS is a member of the English faculty of Wayne State University in Detroit. At present, he is on leave of absence in New York. CLARK MOLLENHOFF is Washington correspondent of *The Des Moines Register and Tribune*. LEONARD PHILLIPS is at work on a biography of Gen. Peyton C. March. GEOFFREY WAGNER, the author of several novels, is Assistant Professor of English at the College of the City of New York.

INTERNATIONAL LADIES' GARMENT WORKERS' UNION

David Dubinsky, *President*

MEMO TO: Gilbert A. Harrison, Editor
The New Republic

FROM: Gus Tyler, Director,
ILGWU Training Institute

Subject:
A REPORT AND APPEAL TO THE YOUNGER GENERATION

Last year, we ran an announcement in your magazine telling of a job opportunity with a real challenge. Friends of mine asked: "And who will answer that kind of an ad? This isn't the '30's. This is the age of conformism, apathy, and get-rich-quick!"

The fact is that 739 young men and women expressed an interest in this "career." Of these, 163 filed serious applications. Of these, 20 were selected for training in jobs as future union leaders.

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With the job comes the challenge – to provide the kind of dedicated and ethical leadership that will make the American labor movement the creative social force it seeks to be.

The Training Institute is now in its ninth year. 127 of its graduates now hold union office in the ILGWU. Virtually all started as organizers – to learn the labor movement at the grass roots. While some continue at this mission as their first and enduring love, others branch out to take on responsibilities as business agents, local union managers, educational and political directors, area supervisors, time study experts, etc.

There is nothing soft or cushy about any of these jobs. But then we are not looking for young people who want the easy plush life. We want those who will enjoy the sting of challenge.

To these, we open the doors of the Institute. Write before April 15: ILGWU Training Institute, 1710 Broadway, New York, N. Y.

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THEATRE

Faulkner's Faith Within Corruption

THE STORY, as Faulkner readers know, is of a Negro servant named Nancy, a former prostitute and dope addict, who murders her employers' child. The motive, Faulkner would have us believe, is the spiritual welfare of the family which employs her. Before the final curtain the murderess becomes a spokesman for faith, a sister of mercy for her corrupt and haunted mistress,

Requiem for a Nun, by William Faulkner (John Golden Theatre).

Temple Drake. Nancy, who knew evil intimately and had practiced an assortment of vices, is a kernel of wickedness surrounded, in the Stevens family, by more of the same. Faulkner's vision is that the bloom of faith may grow even where the compost of morality is most decayed.

The idea is a good one. On the one hand, it makes theological sense. As Amos Wilder has said of Faulkner's novel: "Grace takes on authenticity when its power is manifested among the lost. . . . We learn here to recognize the incognitos of God." On the other hand, the idea has theatrical utility because it allows the author to write of sanctity without appearing sanctimonious. *Requiem for a Nun* contains a more detailed chronicle of sordid behavior than any play since *Garden District*. The play ought to appeal, therefore, both to those of lofty and of lecherous mind. But I am afraid it will appeal to neither. What went wrong?

First of all, the acting is inept. Although Faulkner is said to have made the play from his novel expressly for Ruth Ford, who plays Temple Drake, and although she and her husband, Zachary Scott, have controlled the script since 1951 and have acted it in London prior to New York, they betray a complete lack of affinity for it. Mr. Scott, as a lawyer who for three acts must prod his niece to tell the full story of the circumstances surrounding the killing, does little more than stand about with hat in hand. Miss Ford fails to take one past the consciousness that her clothes are badly designed. Scott McKay, as a husband who is a rotter, affects the posture of the Planters Peanuts man. Bertice Reading merely adequate in the role of Nancy, is the best of the lot.

Beyond all this, however, the play itself is at fault. Although it dwells on perversity and decay, it imparts a feeling of abstractness. None of the characters is believably motivated. Heavy with exposition, the play is over-austere, devoid of credible passion even though it talks about passion constantly. I wanted to take it to a clinic where they would put real flesh on its bones and real desire in its loins.

The director was Tony Richardson, who has previously directed here two plays of John Osborne. *Requiem for a Nun* could have used some of Osborne's mundane reality. Mr. Richardson should have insisted that the play look earthy and smell earthy as well as merely sounding that way.

Could it be that Faulkner and his producers were afraid to trust his own assertion that religious faith can appear even in the midst of corruption? The production gives the impression that someone thought a "religious" play might discuss various sins only by keeping them far enough removed from the stage. In other words, faith can grow in the midst of wickedness only if the wickedness is theoretical. The result of that is that faith is likely to seem theoretical also.

Requiem for a Nun compels one to attend to its every word. Many of the words are pretty filthy. Yet in the end one feels he has spent the evening somewhere not on the earth.

TOM F. DRIVER

MOVIES

Satire and Syrup

SATIRE is such a rare commodity these days, especially in films, that when a satirical picture comes along, one is rooting for it from the start. And James Cagney's new film, *Never Steal Anything Small*, starts well, beginning with the title. But it loses two things as it goes —courage and consistency, and it ends up a mixture of wit and wobble.

The subject is one that I consider one of our most urgent domestic prob-

Never Steal Anything Small (Universal-International); *The Black Orchid* (Paramount)

lems, more frightening than the school-integration horror: the corruption of labor unions. For the anguish of the school integration struggle is, after all, birth pain. There would be no such difficulty if matters had been left as they were; it is improvement that is making the trouble. But the corruption of unions is a state, not a struggle, as yet uncorrected; and it is especially rotten when one thinks of the millions of men in the last hundred years who fought, suffered, and occasionally died so that there might be strong unions. That now some of those large unions are in the hands of thugs and murderers is a bitterness past irony.

But it is a subject apt for satire; and who better than James Cagney, the avatar of the spirit of the urban worker—and a sterling performer—to carry the project forward? In this film he plays an ambitious official of a longshoremen's union who makes his way, by hooking and crooking, to the head of his local and who gets himself elected president of the whole union by being convicted of theft and convincing the membership that it was all done for their sake.

Cagney, clearly no longer a chicken, is just as clearly still a fighting bantam cock. He completely satisfies the one elemental requirement of stardom, if not of all acting: you cannot take your eyes off him when he is on the screen.

But Charles Lederer, whose script is intermittently funny (and who also directed), has let the show down badly by sentimentalizing the Cagney character. Obviously it was felt that the hood had to be prettied up for mass consumption. So it turns out that he never has pocketed a cent from all his pilfering, that he has only "six suits and a comb," that

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all his muscling has been done to get to a position of power so that he could help the common man.

Besides this and other improbabilities of the plot, Lederer has also burdened the film with some soggy scenes between an honest young lawyer and his wife, played by two unmentionables. However, Cara Williams is good as Cagney's female aide, and Nehemiah Persoff, as Cagney's rival, is heavy with smiles and menace.

The film is nowhere as good as the robustious, whole-souled *Great McGinty* of 1940, but it is the best of its kind since that Preston Sturges film; and it is moderately encouraging to see something of this kind attempted again.

A PICTURE that has even fewer good scenes buried in it is *The Black Orchid*, which, too, starts promisingly, with the young widow and child of a murdered gangster attending his funeral. One often wonders what happens to the families of such men after they disappear from the papers, but this film completely muffs its chance to explore the relationships of the survivors with society. Instead, after Anthony Quinn, a middle-aged widower, meets Sophia Loren, the gangster's widow, we alternate between treacle about her boy who has been put on a work farm and incredible psycho-drama about Quinn's grown daughter who locks herself in her room and refuses to proceed with her wedding because her father is involved with a "bad woman."

But tucked into the convolutions of the plot are some sound, warm scenes of Italian-American family life and some good scenes of mature courtship played with appropriate clumsiness and quiet by Quinn and Miss Loren. Quinn has already won deserved recognition as a powerful actor, particularly for his performance in *La Strada*, but Miss Loren is sometimes still written off as merely a magnificent beauty. I agree breathlessly with the last, but she is by no means only a face and figure. Witness her performance in *Desire Under the Elms* and in such Italian comedies as the one insanely titled here *Too Bad She's Bad*. After *Houseboat* and this latest film, it would seem that she is being pushed into a lot of inferior star vehicles.

STANLEY KAUFFMANN

Correspondence

(Continued from page 3)

citing writer than E. M. Forster. Winn's error was here a fair one—my reference was ambiguous. I had intended to say clear and firm that Truman had more talent than Katherine Anne Porter, Eudora Welty, and Carson McCullers, and while I should have been aware that Mr. Forster's name had been mentioned more than once in the previous minute and so was all too available as the referent of my remark, "I think you're better than those writers," still I thought it would be obvious to anyone with taste that one could probably compare Capote's talents to Porter, Welty, or McCullers in a quick sentence, but that to single him out as superior to Forster would call for a half-hour of further conversation since Capote is most brilliantly obsessed as a writer with the sovereignty of surface whereas Forster has devoted his working life to dissolving our sense of the appearance of things.

One is forced to add that the Lady Winn's account was marvelously well-written and suffered only from the trifling flaw that most of the words she put in my mouth were never said by me.

NORMAN MAILER

New York, N. Y.

► *Witch-Hunt in Tennessee*

SIRS:

THE Highlander Folk School is being investigated by the Tennessee Legislature for attempting to overthrow the State of Tennessee by force and violence. The resolution to investigate Highlander was introduced by Representative Harry Lee Senter, the Legislature's champion of segregation, and was inspired by a proposal from Attorney General Bruce Bennett of Arkansas that Highlander be closed. Governor Faubus' attorney general obligingly offered to come to Tennessee to help. Said *The Nashville Tennessean* editorial, "Why Conduct A Witch Hunt For Arkansas?", "As thousands of youngsters in Little Rock can testify, Mr. Bennett is an expert on closing schools."

Editorials from *The Chattanooga Times, Commercial Appeal* and the Scripps-Howard papers in Memphis and Knoxville have pointed out that despite numerous investigations over 26 years no proof of subversion has ever been found. Within recent years Highlander has been investigated by Senator Eastland's Internal Security Committee and in 1957 the Internal Revenue Service reviewed our tax exempt status and found that Highlander qualified as a bona fide educational institution.

Dr. Reinhold Niebuhr writes, "Since the Highlander Folk School has been a rigorously anti-Communist and non-Communist labour educational school I can only assume that the investigation is prompted by Highlander's well known position on the problem of integration."

MYLES HORTON

Monteagle, Tenn.

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NEW REPUBLIC
1244 Nineteenth St. N.W., Wash. 6, D.C.

PRINTED BY NATIONAL PUBLISHING CO 301 N ST., N. E., WASHINGTON 2, D. C.

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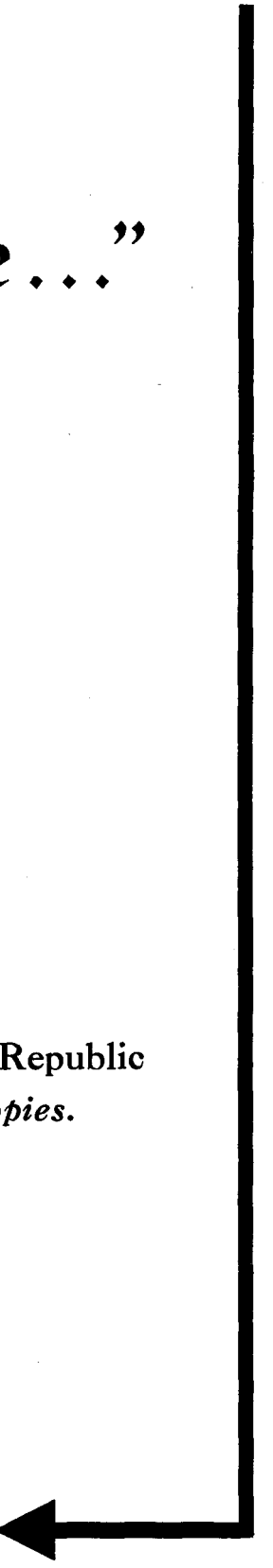

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